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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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821 796 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 796 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 796 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

Marsalai are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

[554] [562] [586]

121 182 796 • 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

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[17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.

[648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Soubundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.

[824] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

323 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiye and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chiawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and Wer came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and Wer must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, Wer's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with Wer. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. Wer had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this Wer beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerise him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has